/299/

c) Music.

1) Musical sense.

533 Probably the most pronounced artistic sense of these tribes is the taste for music. This musical sense is so remarkable that a
534 child cuts his taquaras /bamboo/ with the right dimensions, ties
857 together eight or ten, and a small organ results, the "flauta-de-
533 pã," or carĩço, with the notes succeeding one another with the
*[192] same interval of frequency of vibration as in the musical scale, as can be verified with a harmonium. As a rule they manufacture it in pairs, in such a way that one will serve as contracanto /countersong/ to the other.

533 They are, then, endowed with a good musical ear; for this reason they learn with great facility the most varied of our songs, even classical pieces, for one or more voices, and they greatly
[177] enjoy instrumental or vocal music. They moreover greatly appreciate the "music of the whites," that is, of the civilized.

[194] As an effect of the Tukano language, full of nasals and very
[147] many and rough gutturals and aspirates, and of the influence of the diet (pepper), climate, and way of life, the Indian's voice has little elasticity (54),

54. The voice has so little elasticity that perhaps no native of the Uaupés is able to give
[562] a whole octave. Outside of the feasts and dances the men never sing; the women do it infrequently, for example, when they work in the clearing. It is to be pointed out, however, that the men's songs are religious hymns, whereas those of the women are bacchic compositions that they render when they distribute the drink.
[797] Among the alumni, and especially among the alumnae, of the Salesian Mission, there is a greater elasticity, and one hears humming more frequently. This, however, is usually the religious or secular songs learned at school.

/299 cont./

533 [147] [194] is metallic and unpleasant when he speaks, and it is even more metallic in conjunction, when they speak or sing.

2) Songs.

The native likes to sing, although he appears bashful about doing it, outside the feasts, in front of the civilized. He has a repertoire of songs for the ritual dances (religious songs), and others for his amusement (secular songs). The former are always in choir, without solos and in only one voice. The latter are sung by one or more singers simultaneously or alternately, repeating the same theme or not.

a) Religious songs.

They are sung exclusively by the men. They are slow, monotonous, with many repetitions. As for the rhythm, inspiration, and /300/ movement, they can be classified or grouped among the Gregorian compositions. Since the only process of [178] apprenticeship is by hearing and the memory, it follows that the music is preserved more or less faithfully (55);

> 55. As is verified by watching their feasts in different circumstances and places or among different tribes.

[178] the lyrics, however, have been corrupted. Nowadays in many of these songs there are only sounds without meaning, and the forest dwellers themselves confess that they do not understand the meaning of the articulations that they utter (56).

> 56. As happens, incidentally, in the popular songs of the civilized. (Cf. also VII-6, a (2) /see a (3)/.)

/331 cont./

776 occasion, while looking for caraná in the company of a cousin, both saw two huge tracks of almost half a meter. Her cousin explained to her that they were the footprints of Boraró, Boraró dõ'pó-kãrĩ. [192]

Boraró, the same witness stated, "always has some animals that accompany him and sing near him." These animals are called Boraró i'á, lice of Boraró. "When they hear singing in the forest: -- moláro... (with the a very prolonged) moláro... (29), [194]

> 29. It must be pointed out that the pronunciation moláro announces the origin of the informant. The Tukano language, as can be observed in its better pronunciation on the river Tiquié, does not have the phoneme l. Under the influence of the other tribes, mainly the Taryana, on the Uaupés and Papurí, one hears l in some words. Moláro, we think, in accord with the spirit of the Tukano language, is a corruption of the name Boraró.

they all run away, because Boraró is very near. /The final quotation marks are missing./

[115] According to Casimiro Sampaio -- "Boraró lives in the forest. He appears as a white man (30),

> 30. Perhaps this "white" is used in the usual sense, that is, as equivalent to civilized, since he finishes by saying that he wears clothing.

large, with a red forehead. He wears clothing. He makes noise in the forest. However, he does not do harm to anyone." In general they all affirm that he is very dangerous, and that his appearances are very frequent. Many claim to have seen him or heard him, and on various occasions.

197 paper a person can not help but note the close similarity between others of these languages, e.g., between Tuyuka and Yuruti, or between [191] Desano and Siriano. Discussions with informants of the Desano linguistic group, some of whom knew Siriano and some of whom did not, and with informants of the Siriano linguistic group, reveal that Sirano is not immediately intelligible to Desano-speakers but becomes largely intelligible after continuous exposure for at least several days. It so happens, however, that all members of the Siriano linguistic group know Desano, at least to understand it, because of polylingualism. Desano informants who know both Spanish and Portuguese recognize the relationship between Desano and Siriano as being on a par with that between Spanish and Portuguese (which are definitely recognized among Indians as being quite similar).

The degree of relationship among these Eastern Tukanoan languages can not be rigorously stated yet, but it is my impression that the languages separated by commas in the list in the appendix are a little farther apart than are the languages in the Romance group or in the Scandinavian group. One can look at the Romance languages as a dialect chain, but in the Eastern Tukanoan language family the *intermediate* "dialects"are missing, except perhaps for those languages in the appendix connected by "and." Central Algonquian languages (Bloomfield 1946, Hockett 1948) are more closely related than the Eastern Tukanoan languages seem to be. Approaching the problem from the opposite perspective, that is, from the point of view of reasonably demonstrated *dialects* within a language, the correspondences among the Eastern Tukanoan languages do not present the tightness or neatness that is so evident among those of the Karen dialects as drawn by Jones (1961).

Structural interrelationships are generally close among Eastern Tukanoan languages, but in the finer details of their similarities the languages do not coincide. In *broad* phonetic transcription, most of the Eastern Tukanoan languages share most of the same grid of phones, but the patterning of phonemes and the distribution of allophones vary from language to language. (Eastern Tukanoan languages, incidentally, have phonemic tone and phonemic stress.) To the unaccustomed ear, the Eastern Tukanoan languages all sound fairly similar and, indeed, can be recognized [194]

[P675-A]

197 as Tukanoan by contrast with Indian languages of other families. After a person becomes familiar with one of them, the other Eastern Tukanoan languages begin to sound different to him; but the "Tukano ear," while helpful in recording Eastern Tukanoan languages, turns out not to be helpful in recording phonetic detail from languages outside of the Eastern Tukanoan family. The speaker-hearer of an Eastern Tukanoan language is culturally very sensitive to the fine phonetic detail, which he perceives in the form of an "accent." Such detail varies considerably from language to language and, even within some languages, from region to region.

194 Phonologically, differences in accent reflect a number of things: allophonic fronting of vowels, or lowering of vowels; more opening or less opening of the mouth during production of the vowels; incomplete (versus complete) closure of obstruents in syllables that are not marked by strong stress; more or less contouring of canonically level tones in given environments. These differences are mostly very subtle in quality, and usually speaker-hearers are unable to describe the specific phonological details involved in what they hear as an "accent."

193 The morphologies of these languages are generally similar, but they vary considerably on specific points. There can even be said to be an Eastern Tukanoan type, but each language still has its own distinctive differences. For instance, most Eastern Tukanoan languages have only two general forms for person in the verbal paradigm, but not all: Piratapuyo has three. The participial system seems to be more developed in some languages than in others. In lexicon, there is again general similarity, but not coincidence, between languages. In the exceptional area of kinship terminology, for example, more relatives may be distinguished in one language than in another, and what appear to be cognate terms in two languages may not refer to the same relative.

[601]

191 I have observed that when an Indian knows how to speak two closely related languages (of the sort connected by "and" in the appendix), he carefully and even consciously keeps them apart. It has occurred to me that the exogamic and other cultural institutions to be discussed below may be exerting a force that makes a speaker want to render closely related languages farther apart, even to an artificial extent, but so far I have detected no

[P.675-B]